

Committee is satisfied from the testimony, that not over 100 of those who voted had any right or to do, leaving at least 200 illegal voters cast.

The election in the 16th District was held at Leavenworth. It was then a small village of three or four houses, located on the Delaware Reservation. There were comparatively few settlers then in the district, but the number rapidly increased afterwards. On the day before and on the day of the election, a great many citizens of Platte, Clay and Ray Counties, crossed the river—most of them camping in tents and wagons about the town, “like a camp meeting.” They were in companies or messes of ten to fifteen in each, and numbered in all several hundred. They brought their own provisions and cooked it themselves, and were generally armed. Many of them were known by the witnesses, and their names given, and their names are found upon the poll books. Among them were several persons of influence where they resided in Missouri, who held, or had held, high official positions in that State. They claimed to be residents of the Territory, from the fact that they were then present, and insisted upon the right to vote and did vote. Their avowed purpose in doing so was to make Kansas a Slave State. These strangers crowded up to the polls, and it was with great difficulty that the settlers could get to the polls; one resident attempted to get to the polls in the afternoon, but was crowded and pulled back. He then went outside of the crowd and hurried for Gen. Whitfield, and some of those who did not know him said, “that’s a good proslavery man,” and lifted him over their heads so that he crawled on their heads and put in his vote. A person who saw from the color of his ticket that it was not for Gen. Whitfield, cried out, “He is a damned abolitionist—let him down,” and they dropped him. Others were passed to the polls in the same way, and others crowded up in the best way they could. After this mockery of an election was over, the non-residents returned to their homes in Missouri. Of the 312 votes cast, not over 150 were legal voters.

The following abstract exhibits the whole number of votes at this election for each candidate, the number of legal and illegal votes cast, and the number of legal voters in February following:

ABSTRACT OF CENSUS, AND ELECTION OF NOV. 29, 1854.

Whitefield	1,368	Total	3,871
Walker	249	Legal Votes	1,114
Fleming	365	Illegal Votes	2,756
Scattering	21		

Thus your Committee find that in this the first election of the Territory a very large majority of the votes were cast by citizens of the State of Missouri, in violation of the organic law of the Territory. Of the legal votes cast Gen. Whitefield received a plurality. The Settlers took but little interest in the election, not one-half of them voting. This may be accounted for from the fact that the settlements were scattered over a great extent—that the term of the Delegate to be elected was short—and that the question of Free and Slave institutions was generally regarded by them as distinctly at issue. Under these circumstances a systematic invasion from an adjoining State, by which large numbers of illegal votes were cast in remote and sparse settlements for the avowed purpose of extending Slavery into the Territory, even though it did not change the result of the election, was a crime of great magnitude. Its immediate effect was to further excite the people of the Northern States—induce acts of retaliation, and exasperate the actual settlers against their neighbors in Missouri.

In January and February, A. D. 1855, the Governor caused an enumeration to be taken of the inhabitants and qualified voters in the Territory, an abstract of which is here given:

ABSTRACT OF CENSUS RETURNS.

Males	5,128	Foreign Birth	409
Females	3,373	Negroes	151
Voters	2,981	Slaves	342
Minors	3,499		
<i>Natives of the United States</i>	<i>7,161</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>8,303</i>

On the same day the census was completed, the Governor issued his proclamation for an election to be held on the 30th March, A. D. 1855, for Members of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory. It prescribed the boundaries of districts; the places for polls; the names of Judges; the appointment of members; and recited the qualifications of voters. If it had been observed, a just and fair election would have reflected the will of the people of the Territory. Before the election, false and inflammatory rumors were easily circulated among the people of Western Missouri. The number and character of the emigration then passing into the Territory were grossly exaggerated and misrepresented. Through the active exertions of many of its leading citizens, aided by the secret societies before referred to, the passions and prejudices of the people of the State were greatly excited. Several residents there have testified to the character of the reports circulated among and credited by the people. These efforts were successful. By an organized movement which extended from Andrew Co., in the north to Jasper county in the south, and as far eastward as Boone and Cole Counties, companies of men were arranged in regular parties and sent into every Council District in the Territory, and into every Representative District but one. The numbers were so distributed as to control the election in each district. They went to vote with the avowed design to make Kansas a Slave State. They were generally armed and equipped, and carried with them their own provisions and tents, and so marched into the Territory. The details of this invasion, from the mass of the testimony taken by your Committee, are so voluminous that we can here state but the leading facts elicited.

FIRST DISTRICT—MARCH 30, 1855.—LAWRENCE.

The company of persons who marched into this District, collected in Ray, Howard, Carroll, Boone, La Fayette, Randolph, Saline, and Cass counties, in the State of Missouri. Their expenses were paid—those who could not come contributing provisions, wagons, &c. Provisions were deposited for those who were expected to come to Lawrence, in the house of William Lynkins, and were distributed among the Missourians after they arrived there. The evening before and the morning of the day of election, about 1,000 men from the above counties arrived at Lawrence, and camped in a ravine a short distance from town, near the place of voting. They came in wagons—of which there were over one hundred—and on horseback, under the command of Colonel Samuel Young, of Boone county, Missouri, and Claiborne F. Jackson, of Missouri. They were armed with guns, rifles, pistols, and bowie knives, and had tents, music and flags with them. They brought with them two pieces of artillery, loaded with musket balls. On their way to Lawrence some of them met Mr. N. B. Blanton, who had been appointed one of the Judges of Election by Gov. Reeder, and after learning from him that he considered it his duty to demand an oath from them as to their place of residence, first attempted to bribe,

and then threatened him with hanging in order to induce him to dispense with that oath. In consequence of these threats, he did not appear in the polls the next morning to act as Judge.

The evening before the election, while in camp, the Missourians were called together at the tent of Capt. Claiborne F. Jackson, and speeches were made to them by Col. Young and others, calling for volunteers to go to other Districts where there were not Missourians enough to control the election, and there were more at Lawrence than were needed there. Many volunteered to go, and the morning of the election, several companies from 150 to 200 men each, went off to Tecumseh, Hickory Point, Blue Mound, and other places. On the morning of the election, the Missourians came over to the place of voting from their camp, in bodies of one hundred at a time. Mr. Burson, not appearing, another Judge was appointed in his place—Col. Young claiming that, as the people of the Territory had two Judges, it was nothing more than right that the Missourians should have the other one, to look after their interests, and Robert A. Cummings was elected in Illinois's stead, because he considered that every man has a right to vote if he had been in the Territory but an hour. The Missourians brought their tickets with them, but not having enough, they had three hundred more printed in Lawrence on the evening before and the day of election. They had white ribbons in their button-holes distinguishing themselves from the settlers.

When the voting commenced the question of the legality of the vote of Mr. Page was raised. Before it was decided, Col. Samuel Young stepped up to the window where the votes were received, and said he would decide the matter. The vote of Mr. Page was withdrawn, and Col. Young offered to vote. He refused to take the oath prescribed by the Governor, but aware he was a resident of the Territory, upon which his vote was received. He told Mr. Abbott, one of the Judges, when asked if he intended to make Kansas his future home, that it was none of his business; that if he were a resident then, he should not be more. After his vote was received, Col. Young got up in the window sill and announced to the crowd that he had been permitted to vote, and they could all come up and vote. He told the Judges that there was no use in swearing the others, as they would all swear as he had done. After the other Judges concluded to receive Col. Young's vote, Mr. Abbott resigned as Judge of Election, and Mr. Benjamin was elected in his place.

The polls were so much crowded until late in the evening that for a time, when the men had voted they were obliged to get out by being hoisted up on the roof of the building where the election was being held, and pass out over the house. Afterwards a passage way through the crowd was made, by two lines of men being formed, through which the voters could get up to the polls. Col. Young asked that the old men be allowed to get up first and vote, as they were tired and travelling, and wanted to get back to camp.

The Missourians sometimes came up to the polls in procession, two by two, and voted.

During the day the Missourians drove off the ground some of the citizens, Mr. Stevens, Mr. Bond, and Mr. Willis. They threatened to shoot Mr. Bond, and a crowd rushed after him threatening him, and as he ran from them some shots were fired at him, as he jumped off the bank of the river and made his escape. The citizens of the town went over in a body, late in the afternoon, when the polls had become comparatively clear, and voted.

Before the voting had commenced, the Missourians said, if the Judges appointed by the Governor did not receive their votes, they would choose other Judges. Some of them voted several times, changing their hats or coats and coming up to the window again. They said they intended to vote first, and after they got through then the others could vote. Some of them claimed a right to vote under the organic act, from the fact that their mere presence in the Territory constituted them residents, though they were from Wisconsin, and had been in Missouri. Others said they had a right to vote, because Kansas belonged to Missouri, and people from the East had no right to settle in the Territory and vote there. They said they came to the Territory to elect a Legislature to suit themselves, as the people of the Territory and persons from the East and North wanted to elect a Legislature that would not suit them. They said they had a right to make Kansas a Slave State, because the people of the North had sent persons out to make it a Free State. Some claimed that they had heard that the Emigrant Aid Society had sent men out to be at the election, and they came to offset their votes; but the most of them had no such claim. Col. Young said he wanted the citizens to vote in order to give the election some show of fairness. The Missourians said there would be no difficulty, if the citizens did not interfere with their voting, but they were determined to vote—peaceably, if they could, but vote any how. They said each one of them was prepared for eight rounds, without loading, and would go the ninth round with the butcher knife. Some of them said that by voting in the Territory they would deprive themselves of the right to vote in Missouri for twelve months afterwards.

The Missourians began to leave the afternoon of the day of election, though some did not go home until the next morning.

In many cases when a wagon load had voted, they immediately started for home. On their way home they said that if Gov. Reeder did not sanction the election they would bring him.

The citizens of the town of Lawrence, as a general thing, were not armed on the day of election, though some had revolvers, but not exposed, as were the arms of the Missourians. They kept a guard about the town the night after the election, in consequence of the threats of the Missourians, in order to protect it.

The Pro-Slavery men of the district attended the nominating Convention of the Free State men, and voted for and secured the nomination of the men they considered the most obnoxious to the Free State party, in order to cause dissatisfaction in that party.

Quite a number of settlers came into the District before the day of election, and after the census was taken. According to the census returns, there were then in the district 369 legal voters. Of those whose names are on the census returns, 177 are to be found on the poll books of the 30th March, 1855. Messrs. Ladd, Babcock, and Pratt, testify to 55 names on the poll books of persons they knew to have settled in the district after the census was taken and before the election. A number of persons came into the Territory in March, before the election, from the Northern and Eastern States, intending to settle, who were in Lawrence on the day of election. At that time many of them had selected no claims, and had no fixed place of residence. Such were not entitled to vote. Many of them became dissatisfied with the country. Others were disappointed at its political condition, and in the price and demand for labor, and returned. Whether any such voted at the election is not clearly shown; but from the proof, it is probable that in the latter part of the day, after the great body of the Missourians had voted, some did go to the polls. The

number was not over 50. These voted the free state票. The whole number of names appearing upon the poll lists is 1,000. To tell examination, we are satisfied that not over 250 of these were voters, and 800 were non-resident and illegal voters. That is strongly in favor of making Kansas a free state, and then a fact that the free state candidates for the Legislature were all elected by large majorities, if none but the actual settlers voted. In the preceding election in November, 1854, when no legal voters were polled, General Whitfield, who received the full number of the pro-slavery party, got but 46 votes.

SECOND DISTRICT.—LEAVENWORTH.

On the morning of the election, the Judges appointed by the Governor, appeared and opened the polls. Their names were Mr. Burson, Nathaniel Ramsey, and Mr. Ellison. The Missourians came in early on the morning, some 600 or 650 of them, in carriages, and on horseback, under the lead of Samuel F. Jackson, Postmaster of Westport, Missouri. Claiborne F. Jackson, Sheriff of Independence, Missouri. They were armed with breech-loading rifles, revolvers, bowie-knives, and pistols, and had flags. They held a sort of informal election, off at one side, in the center of Kansas, and shortly afterwards announced that Hon. Shadrack Stevens, elected Governor. The polls had been held a short time when Mr. Jones marched with the crowd to the window, and demanded that they should be allowed to swear on to these residence. After some noisy and threatening, Claiborne F. Jackson addressed the crowd, saying that they had a right to vote if they had been five minutes, and he was not willing to go home without which was received with cheers. Jackson then called out into little bands of fifteen or twenty, which they did, and an ox-wagon filled with guns, which were distributed among the pro-slavery men, proceeded to lead some of them on the ground. In response to Jackson's request they tied white tape ribbons in their button-holes to distinguish them from the “Abolitionists.” They commanded that the Judges should resign, and upon their refusing, smashed in the window, sash and all, and presented Mr. Jones a gun to them, threatening to shoot them. Some one in the crowd called out to them not to shoot, as there were pro-slavery men in the room with the Judges. They then put a prey under the nose house, which was a log house, and lifted it up a few inches, and fell again, but desisted upon being told there were pro-slavery men in the house. During this time the crowd repeatedly demands to be allowed to vote without being sworn, and Mr. Ellison, one of the Judges, expressed himself willing, but the other two Judges, therewith a body of men, headed by “Sheriff Jones,” rushed into the Judges' room, with cocked pistols and drawn bowie-knives, and approached Burson and Ramsey. Jones pulled his watch and said he would give them five minutes to resign. When the five minutes had expired, and the Judges did not resign, Jones said he would give them another minute and no more. He told his associates that if they did not resign, there would be many shots fired into the room in less than 15 minutes; and snatching up the ballot-box ran out to the crowd, holding up the ballot-box and shouting for Missouri. About that time Burson and Ramsey were called out by their friends, and not suffered to go. As Mr. Burson went out he put the ballot poll-book in his pocket, took them with him; and as he was going out Jones snatched the papers away from him, and shortly after came out himself and them up, crying, “hurrah for Missouri.” After he discontinued his efforts, not the poll-books, he took a party of men with him, and off to take the poll-books from Burson. Mr. Burson saw him coming, and he gave the books to Mr. Umberger, and told him to run in another direction, so as to mislead Jones and his party. Jones and his party caught Mr. Umberger, took the poll-books away from him, and Jones took him up behind him on a horse, and carried him to prison. After Jones and his party had taken Umberger, went to the house of Mr. Ramsey and took Judge John A. Bassett, a prisoner, and carried him to the place of election, and made up a wagon and made him a speech; after which they passed him in his button-hole and let him go. They then chose new Judges, and proceeded with the election.

They also threatened to kill the Judges if they did not receive votes without swearing them, or else resign. They said we should vote who would submit to be sworn—that they wouldn't use who would offer to do so—“shoot him,” said his guess. They said no man should vote this day unless he voted an open and was “all right on the goose,” and then if they could not satisfy means they would by foul means. They said they had as much as to vote if they had been in the Territory two minutes, as they had been there two years, and they would vote. Some of the citizens were about the window, but had not voted when the crowd of Missourians marched up there, upon attempting to vote were driven by the mob, or driven off. One of them, Mr. J. M. McCoy, who said he would take his oath, and upon his implying that he would not be allowed to do so, the Judges required it, he was dragged through the crowd away from the polls, and amid cries of “Kill the n——r—d nigger thief,” “Cut his nose off,” “Tear his heart out,” &c. After they had got him to the outside of the crowd, they stood around him with cocked revolvers and bowie-knives, one man putting a knife to his heart, so that it cut him, another holding a cocked pistol to his ear, while another beat him with a club. The Missourians said they had a right to do what they had done in the Territory but five minutes. Some said they had been hired to come there and vote, and get a dollar a day, and they would vote or die there.

They said the 30th day of March, was an important day, when would be made a slave state on that day. They began to leave the District of Missouri in the afternoon, after they had voted, some 30 or 40 around the house where the election was held, and the polls until after the election was over. The citizens of Lawrence were not around, except those who took part in the mob, and a portion of them did not vote; 341 votes were polled there then, which but some thirty were citizens. A protest against these was made to the Governor. The returns of the election were lost by the Committee of Elections of the Legislature at Pawnee. The duplicate returns left in the ballot box were taken by F. E. Lyle, one of the Judges elected by the Missourians, who were either lost or destroyed in his house, so that your Committee have been unable to institute a comparison between the poll returns of this district. The testimony, however, is uniform, that even 30 of those who voted there that day were entitled to vote, and 311 illegal voters. We are satisfied from the testimony that the actual settlers alone voted, the free state candidates would have been elected by a handsome majority.